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DECEMBER MEETING

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the PRESIDENT in the chair.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, Grenville H. Norcross was appointed Secretary *pro tempore*.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian read the list of donors to the Library during the last month.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported his gift to the Society of an undated letter written by Rufus Choate, mentioning a desk used by him in his law-office, which was given to the Society in 1895.

The PRESIDENT reported for the Council the following assignments to prepare memoirs: Mr. Gray, that of Francis C. Gray; Professor Haynes, of E. Winchester Donald; Governor Long, of James M. Barker.

The PRESIDENT announced the death of Charles Gross, Professor of History at Harvard University, and a Resident Member of the Society. In doing so, he said that he would presently call upon Professor Emerton, a colleague of Professor Gross at Harvard, to pay the tribute customary on such occasions to a deceased associate. As President of the Society, he would confine himself, in conformity with usage, to saying that, while in recognition of his valuable historical work and in view of his admittedly high standing as a student and investigator of historical subjects, the election of Professor Gross was in every way proper, he had never been what could be termed an active member of the Society, or contributed largely to its Proceedings. This, too, for obvious reasons. In connection with his chair at Harvard he was an overworked man, and had little time to give to what might be termed outside interests. The single mark left by him in our Proceedings is the mention of a letter, read by another in the "unavoidable absence" of the writer, containing a "minute estimate of the historical work of M. Lavisse"; which letter was not,

however, printed.¹ Professor Gross had been the translator of Lavisse's "Political History of Europe." Though a Resident Member of the Society for over eight years, the records show that he was an infrequent attendant, his name appearing among those present at eleven meetings only. He never served on any committee, nor did he act as a member of the Council.

The PRESIDENT then called attention to the fact that the January meeting would complete a half-century since the election of Dr. Green, senior Vice-President and Librarian of the Society, as a Resident Member. He would at that time only call attention to this fact, with a view to putting here on record a suitable notice of it.

Professor HASKINS paid the following tribute to the late Henry Charles Lea :

The death of Henry Charles Lea removes from the Society's roll of Honorary Members the name of one who, for more than forty years, has brought honor to American historical scholarship. Born in 1825, the son of Isaac Lea and the grandson of Mathew Carey, Mr. Lea represented the best intellectual traditions of Philadelphia and showed his early bent toward the things of the mind by publishing an article on conchology in the "American Journal of Science," at the age of fifteen; but his health as a youth was not strong and he never had a formal academic education. In 1851 he became a partner in the publishing house of Lea Brothers, with which he retained his connection until 1880, the greater part of this time as the active manager of the business. During the Civil War he was an efficient member of the military committee of the Union League and served as bounty commissioner; on the organization, in 1871, of the first association for the reform of municipal government in Philadelphia he was made its president; and throughout his life his influence was steadily exerted toward better political conditions in city, state, and nation.

Mr. Lea's first publications in the field of history were certain essays on early law which began to appear in the "North American Review" in 1859, and were expanded into a volume in 1866 under the title of "Superstition and Force." This was followed the next year by a "History of Sacerdotal

¹ 2 Proc., xix. 167.

Celibacy in the Christian Church," enlarged in a subsequent edition (1907) to two volumes, and in 1869 by a collection of "Studies in Church History." The direction of Mr. Lea's studies was now defined, but eighteen years elapsed before the appearance of his next book, a period occupied partly with the responsibilities of business, and partly with laying broad and deep the scholarly foundations of the works upon which his reputation as an historian chiefly rests. These are: "A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages" (1888); "Chapters from the Religious History of Spain" (1890); "A Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary" (1892); "A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church" (1896); "The Moriscos of Spain" (1901); "A History of the Inquisition of Spain" (1906-1907); and "The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies" (1908). In all, not counting new editions, Mr. Lea's published work fills eighteen substantial volumes, beside a number of monographic articles and a small volume of "Translations and Other Rhymes," privately printed in 1882.

Looked at broadly, the central theme of Mr. Lea's histories is the Latin Church, which was to him "the great fact which dominates the history of modern civilization," and within the Church the development of those institutions which have established and maintained its power over the intellect and conscience of men. These institutions interested him, not as legal or theological abstractions, but as actual working forces, reflected, it is true, in the jurisprudence of the Church, which offers "the surest basis of investigation for a given period," but really understood only when studied in the concrete detail of daily life. This detail, the real warp and woof of history, does not lie on the surface, but must be sought beyond code and statute in scattered chronicles and charters and fugitive publications, and in the dusty records of tribunals. In other words, any treatment of these subjects which was to be anything but superficial and temporary involved years of labor in the great folio collections of law and theology, in out-of-the-way tracts and pamphlets, and in the libraries and archives of every part of Europe. From this life of patient toil Mr. Lea never shrank. Remote from the original materials, with none of the formal training of the historian, this self-made scholar set himself to attack some of the hardest

problems of the world's history, whose difficulties were to prove the measure of his success. From the outset he formed the habit of going directly to the original sources, and while he never left Philadelphia for purposes of research, his large fortune enabled him to bring together an exceedingly valuable library of printed works and to maintain searchers and copyists in all the collections of manuscripts which were important for his purpose.¹ Dealing with matters which have long been the subject of bitter polemic, he deliberately abstained from reading modern writers lest they should obscure or distort his vision of the past, and he carried this practice so far as to neglect even the non-controversial writings of contemporary historians. This disregard of modern material proved a disadvantage, not only in such matters as his awkward mode of citing authorities and his failure to use recent editions of texts, but especially in his treatment of the early Church, where the original records cannot be properly studied without constant reference to the results of critical scholarship; but the fault was the defect of an admirable quality, and few are in danger of repeating it. The late Frederic W. Maitland, the greatest writer on the history of law that the English-speaking world has produced, once said, "It is Dr. Lea's glory that he is one of the very few English-speaking men who have had the courage to grapple with the law and the legal documents of continental Europe. He has looked at them with the naked eye instead of seeing them — a much easier task — through German spectacles. We trust him thoroughly because he keeps his gaze fixed on the middle ages, and never looks round for opinions to be refuted or quarrels to be picked. This is not exactly the policy that we could recommend to any but a strong man. Dr. Lea, however, is strong, and sober, and wary."²

Mr. Lea's style is clear and at times forcible, and his matter does not lack interest, but his books are read by scholars

¹ The volume of Monsignore Baumgarten mentioned in a subsequent note affords a curious example of *a priori* criticism. He says (p. 11): "From his works it is apparent that Lea must have a card index of extraordinary dimensions, which afforded him ready, though sometimes misleading, answers to most of his questions. Whenever he crossed the ocean he has brought back with him considerable additions to his book treasures." Mr. Lea did not have a card index, and he did not build up his library by journeys to Europe.

² English Hist. Rev., VIII. 755.

and by thoughtful readers rather than by the general public. His theme is naturally better suited to interest a European than an American audience, and it is not generally realized among us that probably no American writer of history is so widely known and read on the Continent of Europe. Even in his native city he was better known as a man of affairs than as a man of learning, and Philadelphians of some reading were likely to be surprised when they were told that the excellent judge of city real estate who lived at Twentieth and Walnut streets was one of the greatest scholars of his time. While, however, Mr. Lea's fame was mainly European and his erudition of the kind more commonly found in Europe, his career as a man of affairs who trained himself to be an historian was characteristically American; and there can be little doubt that his business experience helped to give him a sense of reality, an ability to see straight amid a mass of complicated detail, and a solidity of judgment which are often lacking in writers of a more academic type.

In America his best-known book is probably his "Superstition and Force," which is familiar to a large number of lawyers who have more than a practitioner's interest in their profession. This has passed through four editions and still remains, in spite of all that others have done to illuminate the early history of legal procedure, the best comprehensive account in any language of the methods of trial embodied in the ordeal, compurgation, judicial combat, and torture. In Europe his best-known work is the "History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages." Appearing at a time when the most distinguished French student of the Inquisition had pronounced such an undertaking chimerical, this was speedily recognized as the standard authority on the subject, and while it needs to be corrected from time to time with the progress of monographic investigation, there is no prospect of its being superseded. It has been translated into French, a German edition is in process of publication, and it is understood that arrangements have been made for an Italian version. Mr. Lea's most mature work is the "History of the Inquisition of Spain," toward which all the efforts of his later years were directed. The subject is intricate and thorny; the materials were for the most part unprinted and uncalendared; and except for certain publications of the author, scarcely anything had been

done in the way of preliminary exploration or monographic investigation. Under such conditions the historian was obliged to be quarry-man as well as architect, and the four solid volumes which he produced were fashioned out of the solid rock of original documents. It was characteristic of the author that when he found the first draft of the work too long for purposes of publication, he took up calmly the task of rewriting the whole at the age of nearly eighty. Rarely has so significant an institution been so sanely and comprehensively studied, and rarely has the reader been placed in so good a position to observe its workings and draw his own conclusions from the evidence presented. There is no striving for dramatic effect; the nature of the Holy Office is manifested in its normal operations rather than in the sensational episodes of its history, and its significance is shown to lie "not so much in the awful solemnities of the *auto da fe*, or in the cases of a few celebrated victims, as in the silent influence exercised by its incessant and secret labors among the mass of the people and in the limitations which it placed upon the Spanish intellect." The narrative is sober and self-contained and there is little moralizing, but the general tendencies of the system are impressively pointed out, and the great lesson taught by the history of the Inquisition is declared to be "that the attempt of man to control the conscience of his fellows reacts upon himself," and that "the unity of faith which was the ideal of statesmen and churchmen alike in the sixteenth century is fatal to the healthful spirit of competition through which progress, material and moral, is fostered."

Such a conclusion will not command universal assent, and much of Mr. Lea's work has been sharply attacked from the side of the Catholic Church. Such institutions as the Inquisition, the confessional, and the celibacy of the clergy have long been the subject of acute controversy, and their history touches issues of living moment. Mr. Lea might assert his lack of polemic purpose and declare his ideal of history to be "a serious attempt to ascertain the severest truth as to the past and to set it forth without fear or favor"; he might mitigate the conventional horrors of the Spanish Inquisition, and even contrast its enlightened treatment of the witch-delusion with the witch-burnings of protestant Europe; but the deductions from his investigations were generally unfavorable to

the ecclesiastical system, and it is not surprising that Catholic writers have impugned his accuracy, and even his good faith.¹ Still, fair-minded Catholics acknowledge his merits, and in course of time his works will be recognized as having added materially to the body of fact, considerable even now, upon which both Protestant and Catholic historians are in fundamental agreement. Lord Acton not only pronounced the "History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages" to be "the most important contribution of the new world to the religious history of the old," but declared that its essential parts "constitute a sound and solid structure that will survive the censure of all critics."² The Abbé Vacandard, author of the best volume on the Inquisition written from the Catholic point of view, while he denies the finality of the work, accepts Reusch's characterization of it as "l'histoire de l'Inquisition la plus étendue, la plus profonde et la plus fouillée que nous possédions."³ Even Mr. Lea's latest assailant, Monsignore Baumgarten, cannot close without expressing "esteem and admiration for his industry, his endurance and undisputed results."⁴

Personally Mr. Lea had the modesty, the candor, the serenity, and the unselfish devotion of the truly great scholar. He was generous of his time and his learning to others, as I can personally testify, and many beginners in difficult tasks of research look back with gratitude to his advice and encouragement. Recalling his own intellectual isolation in the early years of his studies, he watched with pleasure the growing circle of well-trained scholars in the United States, and looked forward with assurance to the future of the American school of history. Such optimism was characteristic of the man, but it also belonged to a view of history which held that the study of the past in the scientific spirit would render us not only more tolerant of outgrown ethical standards, but also "more impatient of the present and yet more hopeful of the future."⁵

¹ Beside numerous articles in reviews, see particularly Casey, "Notes on a History of Auricular Confession: H. C. Lea's Account of the Power of the Keys in the Early Church" (Philadelphia, 1899); and Baumgarten, "Henry Charles Lea's Historical Writings: a Critical Inquiry into their Method and Merit" (New York, 1909).

² *The History of Freedom and Other Essays*, 551, 574.

³ *L'Inquisition* (Paris, 1907), vii.

⁴ *Henry Charles Lea's Historical Writings*, 143.

⁵ See his presidential address on "Ethical Values in History" in the *American Hist. Rev.*, ix. 233-246.

Colonel T. L. LIVERMORE paid a tribute to Colonel Theodore Ayrault Dodge, with an estimate of his work in military history. This has been expanded into a memoir, and will be found in this volume, page 208.

Professor EMERTON read the following tribute to Professor Gross:

We are called upon to notice the death of a member of this Society who, though probably personally unknown to many of our fellow-members, was one of the world's first scholars in his chosen field of study. A more detailed account of his work as a scholar will be laid before the Society at a later meeting. It is my duty to-day only to call attention to some of the facts of his life and to say a word in appreciation of his singularly devoted and engaging personality as a man and an academic citizen.

Charles Gross died at Cambridge on the 3d of December. He was born at Troy, New York, on the 10th of February, 1857. So far as we are informed there were no academic traditions in his family that would have pointed him naturally to the scholar's life, but his ability was early discovered by his teachers, notably by Mr. Harry Pratt Judson, now President of the University of Chicago, through whose influence he was directed toward a college education. He was graduated from Williams College in 1878, taught for a year at the Troy Academy and in 1880 went to Europe for what proved to be an almost uninterrupted residence of eight years. Only once, I believe, did he return to this country, in search of occupation. Not finding a position to his mind, he went back to England and remained until he was called to Harvard College in 1888.

This was an unusual preparation for the work of a university teacher. In that interval of eight years Gross had travelled widely in Europe, had taken his Doctor's degree at Göttingen, had studied in Paris and had spent several years in England collecting material for the work that was to make his chief reputation as a scholar. Early in his studies in Germany his attention had been drawn to the field of municipal history, and especially to the part played in the development of city governments by the organized guilds of merchants or of craftsmen. His Doctor's dissertation at Göttingen was on

the "British *Gilda Mercatoria*," and his work in England was largely a continuation of studies begun in preparation for that thesis.

In the second year after coming to Harvard he was able to print the two volumes of his "Gild Merchant in England," the first volume devoted to a searching study of the origin and functions of the English guilds, and the second containing a mass of proofs and illustrations arranged according to the several towns studied. Already he had made a great collection of titles for a "Bibliography of British Municipal History," which was published in 1897 as one in the series of Harvard Historical Studies. This led him to the still more elaborate "Sources and Literature of English History to 1485," published in 1900. These are the books which have established Professor Gross's reputation as the first authority in the English-speaking world upon a wide range of questions in English constitutional history. Besides these he has edited two volumes for the Selden Society,—one in 1896, of "Select Cases from the Coroners' Rolls (1265–1413)," and one in 1908, of "Select Cases concerning the Law Merchant (1270–1608)." Numerous articles contributed to many periodicals show his unwearied activity and his keen sense of the importance of making clear every detail in the group of historical materials with which he was chiefly concerned.

As a teacher Gross was occupied during the twenty years of his service at Harvard mainly with instruction in the field of early English history. He gave regularly a full course in this subject and a similar one in early French history, supplementing this class work by personal guidance for advanced students. He was never what is ordinarily and vaguely described as a popular teacher. He used none of the arts of the academic demagogue, who seeks to capture the allegiance of youth by direct assault. He relied in his presentation upon the same qualities of accuracy and clearness that marked his own study and writing, and his appeal found, as such appeal always does, a ready response in the generous spirit of the student body. No one who came under his influence could fail to catch something of his scholarly quality.

In the work of administration Professor Gross bore his share with a cheerful readiness, with unfailing tact and judgment. He served for several years as Chairman of the Depart-

ment of History and Government, submitting to its drudgery with patience and organizing many of the activities which the Department is now called upon to exercise.

Personally he was a remarkable union of extreme reserve with an almost childlike dependence upon friendship. He seldom sought the intimacy of his colleagues, but met every sincere advance with a cordial readiness that endeared him to us all. We shall all remember with gratitude the unstinted generosity with which he always shared with us his great store of knowledge and of suggestion for our profit.

In the more intimate relations of life he displayed again the same qualities of absolute devotion to duty and the sacrifice of his own personal wishes for higher ends. His domestic life, begun with every promise, was clouded almost throughout with the shadow of a great sorrow which he bore with unflinching courage and without complaint. In a very true sense of the word his life was sacrificed to demands which a less uncompromising nature might have avoided without reproach, but which came to him as an obvious call of honor that must be obeyed.

Mr. NORCROSS submitted the following document from his own collection:

LORDS COMMITTEE ON TRADE AND PLANTATIONS TO
JOSEPH DUDLEY.

WHITEHAL, April, the 20th: 1703.

SIR,— Whereas frequent Complaints have been made to Us of great Delays and undue Proceedings in the Courts of Justice in several of Her Majesty's Plantations, whereby many of Her Majesty's Subjects have very much Suffered; and it being of the greatest Importance to Her Majesty's Service and to the Welfare of the Plantations that Justice be every where speedily and duly Administred, and that all Disorders, Delays and other undue Practices in the Administration thereof be effectually prevented; We have thought necessary to recommend to you as We do to the several Governors of other Her Majesty's Plantations in respect of their Governments, that in the Courts of Her Majesties Province of New Hampshire under your Government where you are authorised to preside, You take care that Justice be impartially administred, and that as well there as in all other Courts established within Her Majesty's said province of New Hampshire all Judges and

other Persons therein concerned do likewise perform their several Duties without any Delay or partiality.

And whereas We are informed that there is great want of an Especial Court for determining of smal Causes, We do think it for her Majesty's Service that you recommend to the Assembly of the said Province of New Hampshire the passing a Law for the Constituting such Court or Courts, which may be for the ease of Her Majesty's Subjects.

We further require you to take care that an Exact Account be transmitted to Us by every Conveyance of the Causes which have been dispatched, and those which remain depending, and in General an Abstract of all proceedings in the Several Courts of Justice within your said Government. So We bid you heartily Farewel

*Your very loving Friends.
Weymouth.
Dartmouth
Rob. Cecill
John Hollington P. N. Meadows
M. Prior W. Blathwayt*

Colonel T. W. HIGGINSON sent the following note on the Vassall tomb:

I send you a sketch, made by my secretary, of the Vassall tomb-stone of which I spoke to you, in the old Cambridge cemetery. It is a slab supported by five pillars, one at each corner and one in the middle. It had originally only the emblems as given in the enclosed sketch, and until recently was without the inscription. In my time every boy in Cambridge was familiar with the meaning of the *vase* and the *sun*, standing for "Vas — sol," representing the once prominent Vassall family of Cambridge. We children all knew by heart Dr. Holmes's verse on the "Cambridge Churchyard":

Or gaze upon yon pillared stone,
 The empty urn of pride;
 There stand the Goblet and the Sun,—
 What need of more beside?
 Where lives the memory of the dead,
 Who made their tomb a toy?
 Whose ashes press that nameless bed?
 Go, ask the village boy!

It is within ten or twelve years that I was made indignant by looking over at the stone and finding its whole dignity removed, inasmuch as some one had caused to be engraved there, just below the goblet, the inscription "Col. John Vassall, died Nov. 27, 1747." On inquiry I found that this inscription had been put on without the knowledge of my old playmate, the late Mr. George Savil Saunders, who was the official custodian of the burial ground; nor do I know whether it was ever known who added these letters.

Mr. GREENOUGH submitted from his collections the following five letters of John Hancock, written while in London on business between his uncle Thomas Hancock and the Board of Admiralty.

To REV. DANIEL PERKINS, BRIDGEWATER.

LONDON, October 29th, 1760.

REVEREND SIR,—I have wrote you severall Letters since my Arrivall here, but have not heard one Word direct from you or my Mother since I left Boston. [I] fear if you have wrote your Letters have miscarried. I long much to hear of my Mother, has she her health, pray write me particularly, to whom please to present my most Dutifull Regards, and Acquaint her I am very well, and hope to have the pleasure of seeing her by June next or sooner. My Love to my Sister, Respectfull Compliments to the Doctor. I am very busy in getting my self mourning upon the Occasion of the Melancholy Event of the Death of his late Majesty King George the 2d, to which every person of any Note here Conforms even to the deepest mourning. His Death was very sudden last Saturday Morning, after Rising as well as usual, he felt not well, and fell down in a Fit of Apoplexy and died instantly.¹ Every thing here now is very dull. All Plays are stopt and no Diversions are going forward, that I am at a loss how to dispose of my self. On Sunday last the Prince of Wales was proclaim'd King

¹ He died at Kensington on October 25, 1760, between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, from a rupture of the right ventricle of the heart.

thro' the City with great Pomp and Joy. His Coronation I am told will not be till April, that I can't yet determine whether I shall stay to see it, but the rather think I shall, as it is the grandest thing I shall ever meet with. I am not more particular in the Circumstances of the King's Death, as I imagine you will have the Accounts long before this Reaches you.

The Purport of this is only to Acquaint you and my Mother and Sister, &c I am well, hope soon to hear from you, In'trim please Accept my best Respects, and am, Revd Sir, Your most Obed and Hume Servt.

I shall write you tomorrow.

To EBENEZER HANCOCK.

LONDON, 27th December, 1760.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I have before me your agreeable letter of November 6th by Capt. Bride, and desire you will write me by every opportunity, and acquaint me more particularly with the Circumstances of my Uncle's Family. I am Glad to hear you are well, and earnestly beg you will give great attention to business and let your Conduct be such as to merit the Esteem of all about you, and remember that the Diligent Hand maketh Rich. I Expect on my Return to find you a Compleat Merchant. I am much pleased at the Advantages you have before you, of which I doubt not but you will make the proper Improvement.

I observed by your Letter our Sister is married, and that you were with them at the Celebration of it, I wish them great Happiness and satisfaction, and hope they will meet with nothing to Interrupt their Quiet, they have my best wishes.

I shall write you again Soon. Have me Remembered in the Strongest Terms of Affection to my Uncle and Aunt. Love to all in the Family, particularly Hannah and Betsy. How is Molly and how does Cato behave. Is Agniss a Breeding. Is Prince as Gouty as ever, and Hannibal as peevish as formerly; tell him I think of him, as he was the last of the Family I Saw on the Wharff. How is Thomas, and in short all.

I have lately been ill, but am upon the Recovery, hope soon to get abroad again. I wish you, with Hannah Betsy and all the Family many happy New Years. The Compliments of the Season attend you, and I am, etc.

Remember my Love to Nicholas Bowes, and all of my acquaintances. My respects to Mr. Glover and Brown. Forward the enclosed Letter to Bridgewater.

Tell Hannah that at Mr. Barnard's¹ where I am ill, is a young

¹ Of the mercantile house of Kilby, Barnard and Parker.

woman who is Remarkably Tender and Kind to me in my illness, and often brings her to my mind ; that I am as well attended as I could ever desire, and that I am very well off, but had much rather be ill, if I must be so, where my Aunt and she is, But that this young woman is exactly the Image of her in Respect of a good and tender Nurse.

To THOMAS HANCOCK.

LONDON, January 14th, 1761.

HOND. SIR,— Four days ago I sent you a very long Letter by the Harriott Packett, which hope will Come safe to your hands. I am this day favour'd with your most obliging Letters of November 30th and December 6th by Captain Farr. All the Bills you have sent me have met with Acceptance of which I have Advised you. I am very sorry that I have been so unlucky in Regard to my Letters not Reaching you. I did not write by Atkins, as Bull sailed at the same Time by whom I wrote, and never Intended to be Remiss in that Respect, and should you Receive all my Letters I am well Satisfied you and my Aunt will not Think me Blameable. On my Arrival I wrote by the Packett, then by Farr which you have Rec'd, since those I have wrote you by Bull, Hulme, Partridge, Smith, White, Binney, Vernon, Newton, Earl Lecester Packett, and Calef Via N. York, Rhodes, Beach from Bristol, and the Harriott Packett, and by almost all these to my Aunt, that I hope you will not Think me wanting in Duty and Respect tho' at so great a Distance, which nothing that this Grand Place Affords could Tempt me to Forget. The Detention of the Boston Ships here, is Really no Fault of the Merchants but Contrary Winds. Bull was Loaded by Mr. Barnard and Dispatched as soon as possible, and sailed at same Time with Atkins, that it's very unlucky she did not Arrive, hope long before this she is with you. Mr. Barnard is very uneasy at the Disappointment. By the little Observations I made, I am sure no House gives greater Attention to Business, and better Consults the Interest of their Correspondents than Mr. Barnard's.

The Day before I was to have been Introduced to Admiral [Edward] Boscawen he was taken ill, and I am sorry to Tell you he is since Dead, his Death is greatly Regretted.¹ But the Governor² is so kind as to say he will get me Introduc'd to Mr. Frederick, by means of a particular Friend of his who is intimate with him. Mr. Bogdani I find is not upon the best Footing with the Board, that very little Attention is paid to any thing he says, and indeed he told me as much, but that he should be very Glad to Render you all the Service in his Power. I am Determined at all Events to See Mr. Frederick soon, and if I should Fail of

¹ Died on January 10, 1761, at Hatchlands Park, in Surrey.

² Thomas Pownall.

being Introduc'd to him, will wait on him myself, and Acquaint him the Occasion, and Talk with him upon the Subject. Tho' the Governor Told me I might Depend upon his Friend, who is Lord Falmouth, I have not been wanting in Assiduous Endeavours to see him, but so many Intervening Circumstances have happened, and the Difficulty in meeting with great people at home, has put it out of my power hitherto.

I was this Morning with the Governor, he is very well. Mr. Green is not Arriv'd. I hope you will be able to Settle Nova Scotia Accounts to your Satisfaction. I intend mentioning the Scituuation of them to Mr. Secretary Pownall. The Governor Tells me its next to a Certainty that Governor [Henry] Ellis of Georgia will be appointed to the Government of Nova Scotia.¹ I the rather mention this, as he is now at York on his Return to England, and perhaps may Take Boston in his way that you can have an Opportunity of forming a Connection with him. This is not got abroad, but the Governor Told me with Leave to Acquaint you.

I wrote you I had seen Lady Warren,² and that she begs her Money may be Called in as soon as possible. And desires an Account from Mr. Aphorp with the principal Interest particularly Specified. As she was soon to be in Town after my Arrival, I rather thought it as well to wait, but finding it would have been more Agreeable to you, I could wish I had gone. Mr. Davis's Company into the Countrey was not from Choice, but my Party failing, as he was going and it would lessen my Expence, I went down with him, but did not Return with him. I have no great liking to him, and we have but little Correspondence together, he is a man of a very assuming Behaviour, and has given himself some Liberties here, that I have taken Occasion to mention to him that there's no great Understanding between us, he is going over in the first Spring Ship.

I observe in your Letter you mention a Circumstance in Regard to my Dress. I hope it did not Arise from your hearing I was too Extravagant that way, which I think they can't Tax me with. At same time I am not Remarkable for the Plainness of my Dress, upon proper Occasions I dress as Gepteel as any one, and can't say I am without Lace. I Endeavour in all my Conduct not to Exceed your Expectation in Regard to my Expences, but to Appear in Character I am Obliged to be pretty Expensive. I find Money some way or other goes very fast, but I think I can Reflect it has been spent with Satisfaction and to my own honour. I fear if you was to see my Tailor's Bill, you would Think I was not a very plain Dressing person. I en-

¹ Best known by his account of "A Voyage to Hudson's Bay, by the Dobbs Galley and California in 1746 and 1747, for Discovering a North-West Passage."

² Probably Susannah de Lancy, widow of Sir Peter Warren.

deavour to be in Character in all I do, and in all my Expences, which are pretty large. I have great Satisfaction in the Reflection of their being incur'd in Honorable Company and to my Advantage. I shall be mindfull to send by the first Opportunity the Mitts for my Aunt and the Shoes for you, with a Cane if can meet one Suitable. I wish to hear Bull is Arrived, and that the Things I sent by him for you and my Aunt proved Satisfactory. I imagine many of my Letters have Reached you before this, and long to hear from you on the Subject of my Tarry here. I could wish for many Reasons it may be Agreeable to you to Indulge me here to the Coronation, and hope my Resolution of at least waiting for an Answer to mine by the Packett in Regard to Mr. Trecothick¹ will be Agreeable.

We have no News. Things seem very quiet. The King is very popular and much Beloved. I hear he has sent a Message to the House desiring he may be Enabled to Reimburse the Colonies the Ex-pence of Raising and Cloathing the Troops. I imagine an Address to the King will soon Appear from our Province. Pray who will be Pitched upon to present it, some American I should Think. I don't know whether we have an Agent, I frequently see Mr. [William] Bollan, am told he intends in the Spring going to Boston, but believe it only Talk, he looks half Dead, and is kept alive merely by Mechanism, he once in my hearing at the Coffee House Asked who I was, but he said nothing to me nor I to him. I am apt to Think Mr. Jno. Husk² has some prospect of being Agent, he is a sensible cleane Man, and one I have a great Esteem of, I am very Intimate with him.

February 10th. The Governor has been so kind as to speak to Mr. Frederick and mention'd every thing that was Necessary upon the Subject of your Connections with the Board, that entirely Satisfied him, and I am one day this week to wait on Mr. Frederick at the Board, and wish I could have seen him before this, but it is Attended with great Difficulty to find great people at home. When I have been with him I will write you fully. Mr. Frederick Told the Governor that he himself never heard a Complaint of you in his Life, and all the Board meant by Applications to others was to Endeavour to Employ those who would do their Business Cheapest, and Mr. Frederick said he should when his Leisure would allow be glad to see me, that he might know from me the particular Scituation of their affairs in America with Respect to your Transactions, and I must wait his own Time, of which in my next I shall be very particular, and am glad to find Things may be so easily Reconcil'd.

¹ See Boswell's Life of Johnson (Hill's edition), III. 76 n.

² John, son of Ellis Huske. He represented Maldon, Essex, in the House of Commons, and was burned in effigy in America at the time of the Stamp Act. His father had been postmaster in Massachusetts, and publisher of "The Boston Weekly Post-Boy."

I paid the Governor £800 Sterling, or £1066.13.4 Lawfull Money in part of the Money in your hands, the Interest of which is to Cease from January 19th. The whole £800 I Took of Mr. Barnard, as I could by no Means make any Cessions to Mr. Trecothicks house, who I can't say, have us'd me well, and as I have wrote you very particular, shall say no more, but wait your Answer, which hope will approve my Conduct.

Mr. Green is Arriv'd, and well, who begs Leave to Trouble you with the Inclosed. I have been with him, and am glad to find you have got a Remittance for 1759 Accounts, but he Tells me at 4/8 a Dollar, which is making you a great loser, and surely in Justice ought to pay at 5/ as the Accounts were made up at that Rate.

I am not able by this to add, as I had but one hours Notice of this Ship Sailing, and must beg your Excuse for the ill Connection of my Letter, I shall write you very particular by Capt Ochterlony who goes for York next week.

I hope soon to hear from you, and am with the greatest Respect and Esteem, Honored Sir, Your most obliged and most dutifull Nephew,

The former part of my Letter was wrote some Time ago, but the latter in great haste, as the Vessell was under sail.

TO EBENEZER HANCOCK.

LONDON, March 31st, 1761.

MY DEAR BROTHER,— I have wrote you severall Times lately ; I Received your Agreeable Letters by Folger, for which I Thank you, am glad to find you with the Family are well, all whom I long to see, and am not without hopes of having that pleasure in the Course of the Summer. Tho' at present I am quite undetermined in Regard to my Return, and shall be so, till I hear from my Uncle. You must Excuse me, as I am always Engag'd some way or other, from Giving you any Account of the Curiosities here, how I spend my time, and what is going forward in this place of Universal Resort, all this must be Deferr'd to the happy moment when I shall meet you all in Boston, and Chat over the Agreeable Scenes I have pass'd thro'. I am almost Tired of this place, and can't say but I want much to be with you. I have had but one Letter from Mr. Perkins since I left Boston, which to me is unaccountable. I have wrote him often. I cannot write him by this Conveyance, must therefore Desire you will present my Duty to him and my Dear Mother in the Strongest Terms of Affection, my Love to my Sisters, and Respects to the Doctors all whom I wish very happy. I Really think hard of it that Mr. Perkins should not write me oftener, but he may be hindred by his Avocations abroad.

Pray present my Duty to my Uncle and Aunt, Love to my D[ea]r Hannah and Betsy, and to the whole Family, and to all my Friends as if nam'd.

I am Glad to find you give so close Application to Business, which is the only way to Establish a good Character in Life. By all means study to please your Uncle and Aunt, to whom you are bound by all the Ties of Gratitude and Love.

In Complaisance to you I can't write long Letters, but hope soon to do that in person which I now omitt in my Letters. I am with great Regards, Your Affectionate Brother,

Tell Cato I shall Bring him a Cap and French Horn, but if I don't find him a good Boy shall give them to Scipio.

To THOMAS HANCOCK.

LONDON, 11th July, 1761.

SIR,— Our last to you was dated 30 May per Captain Dymond and Copy per the General Wall, since which have received your favor of the 16th April, 5 and 20 May last and 8 June, in which you remitted us General Amherst's Certificate for the hire of the Sloop Good Intent, Daniel Bragdon, Master, also for the Sloop Seaflower, Webster Master, and for the Sloop Victory, Jos. Purcell Master, all which are left at the Navy office, and expect to obtain Navy Bills for them payable in the course of the Navy which are now sold at about £8 per Ct. discount; in the same you also remitted us Geo. St. Loe Bill on Thomas Fisher Esqr. vallue £72. 8. 4. which is noted for non acceptance, and when due shall return it you with protest, as we have no expectance it will be paid.

We observe that Miss Hope is passenger on Board the Diamond. Captain Mackay, who is not yet arrived, and now fear she is taken. We thank you for your Civilities to her, of which shall advise her Brother Mr. Henry Hope who will thankfully pay the money £86. 3. 3. you have advanced for her, which shall be placed to the Credit of your account with us. The twenty tons of hemp you order, shall be shipt you per the first opportunity, at present no Vessell bound for your port excepting Captain Jacobson, who sails in a few days, and in whome your Nephew Mr. John Hancock goes passenger, he is very well but hurried in getting ready for his departure, that we believe he will not be able to write you by this. We are much concerned to hear of the misfortune that befell the Prince George, but glad she was arrived with you. We have recd a Letter from Mr. Davis and the Owners, and are sorry the Latter applied to the Admiralty, for we think it would have been best to have saved that expence, we expect the Goods have

been a long time delivered to the proprietors, which is expected by the Underwriters, who are willing to pay the Ransome &c. but we don't know whether they will pay any extra charges that may have been occasioned at Boston. We have by this, wrote both to the owners and Mr. Davis in answer to their Letters; We have no certainty of a peace yet, but hope it will be brot. about before this year is out; The King declared his intentions to marry a few days ago in Council to the princess of Mecklenburgh.¹ We are with Esteem, Your very hble Servt

KILBY BARNARD & PARKER.

11th July 1761.²

HONORED SIR,— I have not Time as I am Engag'd in preparing for my Voyage to write a long Letter, and this is a saving way, that I can only Acquaint you I long since Agreed with Captain Jacobson for a passage, and Expected by this to have been half way to Boston, but unexpected Detentions have Arisen, both with Respect to want of Goods and Convoy, however can now say I am in great hopes we shall soon sail, she falls down the river on Tuesday, and I shall set out for Portsmouth by Land on Thursday, and if we are not Detained there in waiting for Convoy, shall in a Week be on our Passage, which in Compliance with your orders, I am very earnest for, and my assiduous Endeavours have not been wanting to get a Passage sooner, but hope all's for the best. The Difficulty of Transporting Baggage from hence to Falmouth prevented my going in the Packett to York.

You will please to present my most Dutifull Regards to my Dear Aunt, Mrs. Hinchman, and Respectfull Compliments to all my Friends, with whom I hope to be soon.

My Earnest wishes for your Health and Happiness, Concludes me in great haste, with the utmost Gratitude, Honored Sir, Your most obliged and most Dutifull Nephew.

My Things are all going on board on Monday.

Professor WENDELL, in showing photographs of two portraits by Smibert, said :

The portrait by Smibert of John Gerrish, mentioned in Mr. Augustus T. Perkins's list, printed in the Proceedings (xvi. 395) for December, 1878, is almost certainly not of Judge John Gerrish (1645/6-1714), but of his son Captain John Gerrish (1668-1737/8), of Boston. Captain Gerrish was the father

¹ Charlotte Sophia, younger sister of Adolphus Frederick IV, reigning duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. The marriage took place September 8, 1761.

² This is on the same sheet as the letter of the merchants.

of Sarah Gerrish, Mrs. John Barrett, of Boston, through whom the portrait descended to the present owner, Miss Sarah Dorr Barrett, of Boston. An elder daughter, Anna, was Mrs. Joshua Gee, whose portrait by Smibert is in the possession of the Society.

Another portrait by Smibert, not mentioned in Mr. Perkins's list, or in the additions thereto (p. 474), is that of Jacob Wendell (1691-1760), which in 1878 was in possession of Mr. Wendell Phillips, from whom it passed to its present owner, Mrs. John C. Phillips of Boston. This portrait, among the largest and most highly finished from Smibert's hand, may perhaps have partly inspired the familiar passage about family portraits in the first number of the "Autocrat of the Breakfast Table." Jacob Wendell was grandfather of Dr. Holmes's mother.

Mr. LANE made the following remarks:

In the course of the excavations for the subway on Massachusetts Avenue, near Harvard Square, Cambridge, a little to the west of Wadsworth House, an old foundation-wall, extending some forty feet, was uncovered on Monday, December 6. Only the lower courses of the wall were to be seen, the upper having been removed many years ago when the water pipes were laid in the street. Enough remained, however, to show that the smooth or inner face was toward the north, proving it to have been in all probability the cellar-wall of a building standing on the north side of the street. It may safely be claimed that the building itself must have been either the original "Harvard College," built in 1638, or else Edward Goffe's house, which stood on the next lot, and before 1654 had been acquired by the College for use as a dormitory. It was called "Goffe's Colledge," and is described in the early College records as containing "five Chambers, eighteen studies, a kitchen, cellar, and three garrets." The position of the foundation wall to the west of Wadsworth House makes the identification of the building with the Goffe house the more probable. As the work of excavation progresses to the eastward, it is not unlikely that the foundations of the original College building may be found. The discovery is particularly interesting because the position of these buildings has never been known with precision.

Mr. FORD presented copies of two letters of James Otis on legal matters.

TO FRANCIS RYBOT.

BOSTON, Decr 24th, 1764

SIR, — I have received the Sum of two hundred sixty two pounds sixteen shillings and ten pence sterling of the several persons whose notes Jn^o Gould indorsed agreeable to the advice heretofore given you viz of Wheelright Erving and Royall and in pursuance of your directions to demand the Difference between £800 and the Ballance of your Acco^t Current against the said Gould you then expecting as you said the £800 of Halliday and Dunbar since which but long after Gould failing I was sorry to find you are disappointed having as you inform me in yours of June last rec'd but £638 : 11 : 0 sterling of the Sum expected by Halliday and Dunbar. I heretofore informed you of Gould's Misfortune. he failed in June and is since supposed lost at Sea about the time your Letter came to hand, being bound from the West Indies to the northward left in distress by a Vessel in Company since arrived that gives the information. As he has left nothing there will be no Administration, should there be any I shall file your Claim. I fear your Conjectures in yours of the same date, that it will not be in my power to do you any service relating your Demand on M^r Dennie are too well grounded, tho I must tell you if you had been determined to loose what he and others owed you here, you took the readiest way in all respects. You first sent over a Letter and loose unauthenticated Acco^{ts} without so much as a power, when the power came it was without the accots annexed or sworn to as by Act of Parliament is required which last never rec^d as before advised you, till the 11 Octo^r last by the London Packet Capt Calef with Gould Dennies and the Davis's Acco^{ts} proved, but even now these Accounts are so stated as that I am of Opinion I could not maintain Suits on them if contested. I shall point out the defects. Davis Acco^t for Instance begins with the Article of Ballance adjusted in England, now, if this was sued they might demand a Copy of that adjustment, then there are large general Charges in all the accounts instead of particulars. However I have done as well as I could with the Mess^{rs} Davis who have settled with me, as you will find by the inclosed Copies, they have charged you £800 sterling they say they have ordered Halliday and Dunbar to pay you long since and by their last Letters it seems probable that Sum or the greater part of it is by this time paid. They have signed their Obligation to pay it with Interest if you fail of receiving it of Halliday and Dunbar, so will let me know if paid the first Opportunity. The Sales of your joint Concern consigned them your half as you say £189 : 4 : 10 is not they say compleated so have obtained no Account of Sales from them, and not

having any Account or Invoice of the Goods sent me from you, cant support an Action of account against them, so you had best send the Invoice to the Merchant you may hereafter employ according to my former request which I persist in. The difference between the Balance of your Account Current and the Settlement arises principally on your miscasting the Interest. There is an Order of £20 sterling on Jn^o Phillips never paid he having been in Canada ever since it was drawn, and is returned. They also refuse to allow the recharge of £10: 10: 0 sterling on the Diamond. But the principal thing that induced me to ease away on this Article and the Objections to your Charges of Interest, some of which are manifestly wrong, is that the whole Interest is disputable here. Compound Interest is against our Law, and you would be at the Mercy of a Jury wether to allow you the simple Interest, which they would certainly disallow unless an express agreement were proved of which I had no Evidence and they deny that it was expressly agreed, but tho't themselves obliged to allow it on the Custom (which our Jury dont regard) provided I would make the deduction for compound Interest miscasting &c in your Account as by the Settlement inclosed will appear. As to arresting them and holding them to Bail for the Ballance according to your Account Current you to repay what you might receive by Halliday and Dunbar might have been at the risque of exposing you if not myself to an Action for Damages which I did not chuse for myself nor think eligible for you especially as you direct me in all your Letters to avoid Extremities nor do I think you would have thanked me for subjecting you to an Action for holding them to Bail under the uncertainty of what is rec'd from Liverpool. I therefore tho't it most for your Interest to take their Bond to you Condition for the payment of £800 sterling with 6 $\frac{2}{3}$ Cent Interest in Case said Halliday and Dunbar have not or shall not pay it to you so as soon as you have rec'd it you will inform me there of as they will want their Bond up or discharg'd on such payment. They have also drawn Bills on Holliday and Dunbar for the Ballance of £203: 13: 9 sterling, the first of which I inclose. If I can secure you any thing p^r M^r Dennie I will but I find that while you and he were in secret Treaty about a Composition with you and the rest of his Creditors of which you never informed me I say during this Treaty which I am astonished you should be so private in I find he has made over all his Estate real and personal for the Security of his Creditors before your Acco^{ts} came authenticated and this in Consequence of Letters which he shewed me from you among others agreeing to the same, how this Affair was transacted I cant exactly find out, but he says you left it to him to act for you and you mention in your Letters to him that I shall not proceed till I hear further from you. It seems it would have been as regular to have informed me of the whole of your proceedings with

him of which I am now at a loss for the whole. He says he informed you of what was concluded upon by him in your behalf and with the rest of the Creditors in June or July last but hath no answer. I never heard of such Composition being on foot till since your last Letter and that by him M^r Dennie when it was too late to secure any thing. It is a strange way of transacting to send a power against a Debter and then secretly give him a Letter of Licence as you have in Effect. Could you expect in this Situation of his Affairs I could arrest him break up his family and business that the Creditors agreed he should continue, for to Goal he declares he will go if only on the assurance of the Composition promised in your Letter and thereby subject you to an Action of damages, but to what purpose would it be to commit him after all his Estate is made over, in short He says by your Letter to him you left it to him to act for you and that he will do you the same Justice with the rest of his Creditors. I believe he is an honest Man, and will perform it if he can so you must een settle it between you, should I find any of the Incumbrances on his Estate cleared or the Conveyances defective I will endeavour to serve you tho' I see little prospect I hope as you have begun, you and he will be able to settle the Affair to your mutual Satisfaction. Inclosed you have with the first Bill from the Davis's for the £203 : 13 : 9 on Halliday and Dunbar, a Copy of their Bond and Settlement of the Account Current, besides they say they have remitted you £150 which they agree shall go towards the Consignment or joint Concern on Commission mentioned in your last to me; this will appear by a Memorandum on the Schedule annexed to said Bond for said £800 if not paid by said Halliday and Dunbar so that the said Commission Account of the Goods consigned in Company you'll perceive lays open as before observed. I am yours &c.

J OTIS.

TO GEORGE JOHNSTONE AND OTHERS, ASSIGNEES OF WIGHT
AND GRAHAM.

BOSTON, Jany 25th, 1765

GENTLEMEN,—I rec'd yours of the second of Nov^r and am glad you approve of my Conduct with regard to M^r Hurd. • He is very unjust in charging me with Severity. He must be conscious I have done nothing but what his Conduct will justify to all the World. You recovered Judg^t against him at the Inferior Court in Octo^r last for the sum of £3268 : 15 : 0 ster^g being the Condition of the Bond with Interest. He has appealed to the Superior Court which sets the latter end of February, in the meantime having given Bail to your suit he has shut himself up from his other Creditors. I shall inform you of every step I take in relation to this Affair. As you must have rec'd his proposals of a Composition before this, I would only mention this for

your Consideration, that if he delivers himself up to save his Bail he may after a certain number of days by the province law be discharged from Goal, making Oath that he is worth nothing which may soon be the Case if he is driven to Extremities. According to your directions in your last I have "pressed M^r Scollay for a Settlement." I also applied to him as directed for Cap^t Gooch's Acco^t, but have not yet obtained it. I was with him almost every day from your last urging him to make a payment or Remittance by good Bills. He promised fair as usual till the failing of M^r Wheelright which happened here last week and has given as great a shock to credit here as your South Sea Bubble did in England some years ago.¹ This Gentleman from a handsome fortune left him by his father and the great Business he was in for the Government at Home during the Wars acquired such an undue Credit that he became next to the Treasurer, Banker General for the province and almost for the Continent his Notes passed at par with those of our province, which are as good as your Bank Notes. Nay to such a madness had people arrived that they took their Money by thousands from the Treasury to trust it with this Man, but last week, I say, the bubble broke, some say for £10000 sterl^g, and I can compare it to nothing but the late Earthquake at Lisbon, such was the Consternation for some little time that people appeared with pale Horror and Dread, and when a little recovered run about the City. Widows and Orphans that are ruined can only bewail their fate, the more resolute have been pulling and hauling, attaching and summoning to secure themselves, but it was too late to shut the Stable door, he had made over all his Estate and Effects to a brother, who it seems with the family say they are the greatest Creditors. This is among the Misfortunes owing in a Measure to our Bankrupt Act not being approved at Home. It seems to me to be for the Interest of the Merchants on your side that their debtors here should not have it in their power to secure a few relations and friends and exclude all others. But to come nearer your own Affairs, this Bankruptcy of Wheelright and the difficulties and restrictions of our Trade here has brought on divers others, and they are increasing daily. I found that of a Number like to be run upon, M^r Scollay was one. I made out an Attachment, the Officer was within an hairs breadth as I may say of taking his body, which if he had, it might have been better or worse which I cant say. The Officer went to his house in hopes of finding him there but he was abroad. Coming home and as I find since see[s] the Officer going in and suspecting his Business went back and absconded. The Alarum was taken instantly more especially as Wheelrights affair had put every one on the look out, all that was to be done was to attach his House and Furniture and other real Estate, what shop goods he had by him I

¹ Nathaniel Wheelwright. See 2 Proc., x. 52.

know not, but it appearing very thin to me, I chose to take him if I could but missing of him as above I sent in a few Minutes to the shop but he had ordered it to be shut upon seeing the Officer go into the house. What security the Officer has got I am not able to say as he has not compleated the inventory of y^e Goods in the house, tho' I fear it will prove very short of your demand especially as there is only an Equity of Redemption on the real Estate, he having mortgaged it last Summer for a debt due to a Gentleman in Bristol tho' he says he has paid most of it off. One reason I have to think your chance is as good as if the Officer had gone first to the shop is, that it would have been too late as it turned out to have gone to the house, for twenty Writs were out after him in consequence partly of yours but principally by reason of the general distress on Wheelrights Acco^t besides if the Officer had gone to the shop others would have entered with him and before he could have inventoried his Braziers Ware which is what he deals in, the other Officers would have come in and divided stakes by attaching. M^r Scollay declares his intentions are to pay all their equal proportions and he says he has enough to pay all their whbole dues if time is allowed him, this is always said in like Cases, so will not gain much Credit. What the exact State of his Affairs is I believe he dont know himself. For now people speak freely, which is very dangerous here of a Merchant, damages for defaming them being excessive in Comparison of what is given in England. I think £800 is the highest I can find in my Law books, whereas it is common for a merchant here to recover a thousand or two cool Guineas for defaming his Character and soon after to break or run away This was the Case of one Fletcher here some Years since, who my old Cahill can tell you more off, if you think it worth your Enquiry. Wheelright recovered £2500 of two brave Officers who served at Quebec only for saying the French told them they had Intelligence of the designs of the English from their friend Wheelright at Boston. M^r Scollay has in general obtained the Character of an honest Man who has over traded himself and has met with some losses and tho' he was reckoned a slack paymaster it is remarkable that I cant find he was ever sued till last Week except upon a disputable Case, wether he as Owner or the Insurers were answerable for a small Ransom Bill. I should think it for the Interest of all his Creditors to come to as speedy a Composition with him as possible, as keeping him shut up, as he is now, is only maintaining his family at their own Expence. I am not yet satisfied wether my powe enables me to compound. if it did should choose to know your minds, in the mean time shall prosecute the Suit. If it comes to a Composition or not I repeat my desire that you would send a new Power to some Merchant here, as my profession is only that of the Law it is impossible I should know the course of peoples trade and consequently their cir-

cumstances so well as Gentlemen in trade. I cant but again mention and lament your not sending the papers and Acco^{ts} authenticated in season had this been done I might have secured all your demands. I recd the first Copies of y^e Commission of Bankrupctey of Wight and Graham in your last which came to hand but a few days before I found myself obliged to sue M^r Scollay. M^r Young still declines paying and therefore you will take such Measures about sending the proof of his Debt as you think fit. Your humb. Servant

J: OTIS

Via Bristol and Hull.

MEMOIR
OF
THEODORE AYRAULT DODGE.
BY THOMAS LEONARD LIVERMORE.

THEODORE AYRAULT DODGE died on October 25, 1909, at his Château de Rozières at Nanteuil le Hadouin, Oise, France. He was born in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, May 28, 1842.¹ Following his appointment in 1851 on the American Commission to the Great Exhibition in London, his father, Nathaniel S. Dodge, moved his family to that city in 1852, and soon afterwards placed his son, the subject of this memoir, in the

¹ He descended from William Dodge, yeoman, who landed with the Salem colony in 1629, from whom the line, as recorded by Colonel Dodge, was as follows: (2) Captain John Dodge of Beverly (1636-1673), an officer in the war against the Narragansetts; (3) Jonathan Dodge of Salem and Beverly; (4) George Dodge of Beverly and Ipswich (1709-1793) and Martha Fisk of Wenham; (5) George Dodge of Ipswich and Hamilton (1749-1827); (6) Rev. Joshua Dodge of Ipswich and Haverhill and Moultonborough, N. H. (1779-1829) and Mary Shatswell of Ipswich; (7) Nathaniel Shatswell Dodge, b. in Haverhill, Jan. 10, 1810, d. in Cambridge, Feb. 2, 1874, and Emily Pomeroy of Pittsfield, Mass.; (8) Theodore Ayrault Dodge. On his mother's side his line was as follows: (1) Eltwid Pomeroy, who came from Wales to Windsor, Conn., in 1636; (2) Medad Pomeroy of Windsor; (3) Ebenezer Pomeroy of Windsor and Northampton, Mass. (1669-1754); (4) Seth Pomeroy of Northampton (1706-1777), a colonel in the French wars and brigadier-general in the Revolution, he was in the ranks at Bunker Hill; (5) Lemuel Pomeroy of Northampton (1738-1819); (6) Lemuel Pomeroy of Northampton and Pittsfield (1778-1849) and Hart Lester; (7) Emily Pomeroy (1811-1867). Hart Lester (6) descended from Dr. Pierre Ayrault, a Huguenot refugee who came to Newport, R. I., in 1680. He was son of Pierre Ayrault, who was president, seneschal, and mayor of Angers (Anjou), France, whose father, Pierre Ayrault, had been chief magistrate of the Criminal Court of Angers, and principal advocate of the Parliament of Paris, and an author of repute. In October, 1865, Colonel Dodge married Jane Marshall Neil of Columbus, Ohio; she died in 1881. His children by her were Robert Elkin Neil Dodge, b. 1867, A. B., H. C., in 1889, A. M. in 1891, editor of Spenser's works in Cambridge Poets' series, now Assistant Professor of English at the University of Wisconsin; Emily Pomeroy Dodge, b. 1868, d. 1883; Theodore Ayrault Dodge, b. 1870, d. 1871; Theodora Dodge, b. 1871, now resident in Munich; Jane Marshall Dodge, b. 1873, now resident in London, a writer on sixteenth and seventeenth century music. In October, 1892, he married Clara Isabel Bowden of Boston, who survives him.



Theodore A. Dodge
U. S. Army.

Collège des Joséphites in Tirelmont, Belgium, where he remained until 1854, when, going to Berlin, he became an inmate of the family of Major General von Froerich of the retired list of the Prussian army. He entered, and until 1857 continued in, the Friedrich Werderschen Gymnasium. Concurrently with his schooling there, he received, under the General's direction, special instruction, which, with constant visits to the barracks and drill ground, gave him the rudiments of military training.

Later, preparing at a school in London, he matriculated in the University of London, where he was graduated in 1861, in the meantime having spent a few months at the University of Heidelberg. Returning with his father to America, he enrolled himself in the 101st New York Volunteers in August, 1861, and was soon commissioned first lieutenant. With this regiment, in the Third Army Corps, he made the Peninsula and Bull Run campaigns of 1862. At the second battle of Bull Run the regiment was heavily engaged, losing one-half its number. Lieutenant Dodge was commended by the colonel's report for his "great service." Immediately afterward, at Chantilly, he was seriously wounded. The impending consolidation of the regiment with another led the young lieutenant to accept the appointment of adjutant in the 119th New York, then being organized. His father, at the age of fifty-two, took service in the same regiment as first lieutenant and quartermaster, and performed the duties of that office for some months, at the end of which he was promoted to captain and assistant quartermaster of United States Volunteers. Adjutant Dodge joined the regiment in November, 1862, as soon as he had recovered from his wound. With this regiment in General Carl Schurz's Third Division of the Eleventh Corps he took part in the battle of Chancellorsville. At Gettysburg this division in position near the Carlisle road, east of the town, on the afternoon of July 1, 1863, sustained a furious attack by a portion of Ewell's Corps. General Schurz says in his report that Barlow's (First) Division having been forced to retreat, he had received General Howard's order to withdraw to Cemetery Hill, and that the Third Division "fell back toward the town in good order, contesting the ground step by step with the greatest firmness," officers and men showing "the highest courage and determination," and that the second

brigade lost all its regimental commanders, and several regiments nearly half their number in killed and wounded. The 119th New York, which was in this brigade, lost eighty-one killed and wounded, and fifty-nine missing. Adjutant Dodge received a wound which necessitated amputation of his right leg. He was commissioned captain in November, 1863, and major in August, 1864, in the 23d Regiment of the Veteran Reserve Corps. In May, 1864, he was appointed to the charge of the enrollment branch in the Provost Marshal General's bureau at Washington, and in December, 1864, to the conduct of the branch relating to desertions. To the former branch were intrusted the superintendence of the boards which were appointed in each congressional district to enroll all men liable to military duty, the computation of the number to be drafted from each district, the direction of the drafts for service from those enrolled and the accounting with the States for all volunteers recruited and credited on the quota of each district. In view of the importance of this work to the Union cause and the necessity of just and tactful dealing with the States, the appointment of an officer of twenty-two years to its conduct measures the impression which his talents and breadth of view had made upon those in authority.

In 1865 he began the study of the law, devoting to it such time as his military duties permitted, and attending lectures at the Columbian College Law School, from which he was graduated LL.B. in June, 1866. He was then admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. About this time he was made military superintendent of the War Department buildings, with a command of two companies which later were incorporated in the 44th United States Infantry. He was commissioned captain in this regiment in July, 1866. In his capacity of superintendent in 1867 he participated in holding the War Department buildings for Secretary of War Stanton against President Johnson and General Lorenzo Thomas, whose appointment as Secretary of War *ad interim* Mr. Stanton disputed. April 28, 1870, much against his will, he went on the retired list by force of an act of Congress retiring all disabled officers.

He received the commissions of brevet lieutenant-colonel of United States Volunteers and major in the United States Army for "gallant and meritorious services" and colonel of United

States Volunteers and lieutenant-colonel of the United States Army "for gallant and meritorious conduct at the battle of Gettysburg."

Upon being placed upon the retired list of the army Colonel Dodge entered upon a business career of thirty years, during which time he displayed resolution, courage in misfortune, incessant industry, and versatility of talent, in a combination such as we like to think is more generally characteristic of Americans than of other people. Intent upon gathering a fortune which should leave him free for the more congenial pursuit of letters, he engaged in his business with an ardor such as he had brought to the profession of arms. He was not exempt from those mutations of fortune which faithfully attend the venturesome American, but eventually he achieved independence.

Nathaniel Dodge was an experienced writer. Encouraged by him, his son Theodore at the age of sixteen began writing letters from London which were published in the "Boston Post" and other newspapers. He resumed the literary habit in the hours of leisure left to him by diminishing military duties, and during the last three years of his service in the War Department he wrote for the "Galaxy," "Putnam's," "Harper's," "Packard's" and many other periodicals. In 1880 and 1881 he wrote three papers for the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts, upon the Chancellorsville campaign. Up to that time he had never found time to write a book. It was natural that, with the foundation laid in his abundant knowledge of the Civil War acquired in field and bureau, his personal experience in this campaign should lead him to make it the subject of his first book. It was published in 1881 under the title "Campaign of Chancellorsville." Appearing, as it did, eight years before the publication of the official records, it was a timely guide for students of that campaign, and it received the commendation of the judicious northern critic as a valuable aid to the student, and of southern authority—always alert to resent any supposed disparagement of southern prowess—as being one of the "ablest and fairest" of books.

Two years later he published his "Bird's Eye View of the Civil War." The narrative is greatly condensed to bring the book within the limits desirable for the appreciation of his

youthful son, for whose instruction it was written. Yet its treatment of campaigns is on a broad scale and of admirable clearness, and it survives the publication of the War Records and thousands of other books on the War as a valuable and serviceable compend of the subject. In the light of evidence contained in these later publications the book's estimates and criticisms of our generals do not all now receive the assent of those who hold the author's work in general in high esteem; for example, many who sympathize with his praise of Sherman where he writes, "He, if anyone, showed during our Civil War the divine military spark," would not agree with the antithesis which he makes between this phrase and the statement that "when Grant resorted to manœuvring he succeeded measurably."

An estimate of Grant more directly disparaging is found in a paper read by Colonel Dodge in 1884 before the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts, entitled "Grant as a Soldier," in which the credit for Fort Donelson, which is usually accorded to him for that victory, is diminished; of the plan to turn Pemberton's flank by crossing the Mississippi it is said that "its only merit lay in that it showed no sign of turning back"; and that Grant's success in it lay in the incapacity of his opponent Johnston; that in front of Petersburg Grant made no attempt on any plan except that of working to Lee's right to cut off his supplies; and that, with no brilliant feat of arms by Grant, the end at Appomattox came through the death of Lee's army by inanition. But with full appreciation of Grant's inflexible moral courage, the author says: "to lose a battle only made him more elastic in his determination to retrieve his loss; this quality alone in the degree to which it is ingrained in Grant stamps greatness on any man who is occupied with national interests"; and he concludes that Grant "would have been unequalled in a defensive campaign."

It would be superfluous to here attempt to weigh these opinions. The official records and other later publications are ample for the student who is interested in weighing them. But the present repetition of them serves to throw into due relief the liberality of mind shown by Colonel Dodge in revising his views twenty years later, as will be noted in this paper further on.

Some of the facts the later disclosure of which may have led to this change of views are as follows. The Confederate returns published in the War Records show that Grant in sending the Sixth Corps from Petersburg to Sheridan in the Shenandoah in the summer of 1864 to accept the offer of battle there which proved to be so advantageous for the Union cause, so much reduced the preponderance of his force at Petersburg — in August, 69,206 to Lee's 55,622 — that it then became the best strategy to there do only what was necessary to prevent the detachment of reinforcements to the armies opposing Sheridan and Sherman. By strong demonstrations on both flanks, attacks on works thought to be weakly guarded, and attacks on Lee's railways, Grant accomplished this end, and at the same time gave such an impression of his strength as to prevent all thought in his adversary of availing himself of the advantage of his interior and fortified lines to attack. It is also of interest to read in the Confederate correspondence and reports contained in the records, the evidence that it was due to Lee's combativeness, and not to inanition of his army, that he refused to retreat from Petersburg while yet he might, to join Johnston in North Carolina, and which led him to make the disastrous assault at Fort Stedman, with a loss of 4000, and still to delay in his works until he was put to the retreat by Grant's breaking his line by assault, in which battle and in the other engagements from March 29 to April 9, in a field of operations one hundred miles long, Grant annihilated Lee's army of 51,000. The theory that Lee's forces failed from inanition does not consist with the series of fierce battles during this period, in which it killed or wounded over 9000 of Grant's men.

Colonel Dodge's pen was not confined to military history. He was an ardent horseman, and from his experience in the saddle of more than thirty years he wrote two admirable works on equitation which were published in 1885 and 1894, and are ranked as high authority on the subject.

Of Colonel Dodge's patriotism his son writes as follows:

Although educated abroad and by training a European, he returned to his native land as soon as serious trouble rose there and enlisted at once as a private in his country's service. He was always a patriot in the fullest sense of the word. He knew other countries well, and

recognized wherein they surpassed us, but he always believed in America and American superiority in the essentials of national genius. And wherever he went abroad he took whatever opportunities fell in his way, to explain American ideals and methods to intelligent foreigners. I remember well the various conversations we had abroad with Frenchmen and Germans during my trip with him in 1892. Knowledge of foreign ways seemed only to confirm him in his Americanism, and perhaps the central source of this was his having served in the war. What was really nearest to his heart I think was his military record.

Nothing could have been more consistent with the animating spirit here disclosed than the project which was formed by Colonel Dodge, prior to 1886, of writing a work upon the American soldier. For this work he made many notes and collected much material, but after he had written a part of the text he saw that he lacked much of the necessary knowledge of the soldiers of other nations, with whom he would have to compare the American, and therefore, suspending his original plan, he began to read up the ancient warrior. His interest in the subject grew until it impelled him "to start a series of biographies of Great Captains, the under-current of which should be a History of the Art of War, which art their deeds had created." During the time while he was yet in active business he found time for the wide reading upon which he made the first draft of the biographies of Alexander, Hannibal, Cæsar, Gustavus Adolphus, Frederick the Great and Napoleon. In 1888 he delivered six lectures at the Lowell Institute upon these leaders, the writing of which he said gave him a keener insight into the subject, and lent homogeneity to the scheme of the series which he had projected. A volume containing these lectures was published in 1889 and was well received.

In 1890 he published the narrative of Alexander's campaigns, as the first of the final series which he had projected and which he entitled "Great Captains." It appears in the announcement in this volume that he had then formed the opinion that in the twenty-one centuries following Alexander's death the only leaders to be ranked with him as masters in the art of war were Hannibal, Cæsar, Gustavus Adolphus, Frederick the Great and Napoleon. The volumes on Hannibal and Cæsar were published in 1891 and 1892. These

three volumes were necessarily based upon the narratives of the ancient writers, but Colonel Dodge traced the campaigns of Hannibal and Cæsar on the ground which they covered, and studied their battles upon the fields where they were fought and with charts and maps such as modern military histories have, prepared by him for his works, and much explanatory comment, he threw such light upon the campaigns and battles of the three leaders of antiquity as to give them new value to military students and deep interest for all readers. His narratives are enlarged by a thousand details, clearly set forth, of the formation and movement of phalanx and legion and the order of battle, of marches and camps, armament and fighting. Alexander he credits with the contribution to the art of war of conceiving a plan of campaign and adhering to it, of securing flanks and rear on each advance, of accumulating granaries while living on the country, and of unparalleled rapidity in strategic movements; in Hannibal he finds the greatest strategist of ancient times, whose success in strategy is commemorated in the epithet "Punic faith" which the Romans applied to it. Before his time, excepting Alexander's campaigns and minor instances, war had been decided by battle tactics alone, in the use of which armies came together in the simple order of parallel lines. To Hannibal also is credited the development of the art of deciding campaigns by attacking lines of communication. To Cæsar is attributed the principle of attacking the key point to the neglect of minor ones, of keeping his army concentrated and the enemy divided, of seizing central positions from which to attack each division of the enemy separately, and of always moving quickly to attack the enemy while unprepared, which he sometimes carried to rashness.

It required the confidence based on wide reading and profound analysis to pass over the leaders of the sixteen centuries following Cæsar's death — including Belisarius, Charles Martel, Charlemagne, Henry IV, and William the Conqueror, as Colonel Dodge did without misgiving, and categorically to rank Cromwell, Maurice of Orange, Turenne, Eugene, Marlborough, and Wellington as generals who, notwithstanding their record of success in campaign and battle, cannot be credited with inventing any leading principle in the art of war. In his view improvement in the art of war decayed

with the decadence of the Roman Empire, and the study of it suffered eclipse with the study of letters during the following centuries: as the skilled practice of it diminished, the foot soldiery became inefficient and neglected, and horsemen came to constitute the strength of armies; with these armies war was neither an art nor a science; after the lapse of centuries it remained for the English Bowman at Falkirk and Crécy to find that his cloth-yard shaft could annihilate the best cavalry from distance, and for the Swiss pikemen at Laupen to prove that they could withstand armored knights; feudal service gave way to standing armies, the re-establishment of infantry relegated cavalry to its place; firearms and artillery were adopted, and the discipline necessary to the efficient practice of the art of war began to appear; and finally the young Gustavus Adolphus, coming to the throne of Sweden in 1611, began the career in arms which was terminated twenty-one years later at the battle of Lützen, and which is adjudged by Colonel Dodge to have made the first notable advance in the art of war since the death of Cæsar. Like the latter, Gustavus carried his plan of campaign through on a well-considered plan. He instituted the modern method of establishing a strong base from which to move into an enemy's country, of securing communication with it, and of accumulating supplies in sure places; he established discipline which was the marvel of his day, supplied the wants of his forces legitimately without robbery or rapine, and paid them regularly and won to himself the peoples of the countries which he traversed by humanity and kindness, the opposite of the treatment of them like brute beasts which for centuries had been their lot with conquerors. When necessary he avoided battle on unfavorable terms by judicious strategy; he led the enemy away from key points to occupy them himself; he was a master of tactics, and a whirlwind in battle. His motives were pure and high, his pursuit of them "steadfast, noble, openhanded, courageous and discreet"; he "re-created methodical, systematic, intellectual war."

A passage in a letter of 1893 to the present writer from Colonel Dodge in Paris concerning his estimate of Gustavus Adolphus throws light upon his method of estimating the rank of his great captains. Adverting to the criticism in a review of his book, that he had not given sufficient importance to what

had been contributed by the Prince of Orange to the art of war, he wrote:

Several authors before have called the House of Orange the originators of certain things: so they were, if you like, but they did not create the scheme of modern war, they merely made isolated improvements and never wove them into a military whole. One may as well say that Napoleon created nothing, because the wonderful men of the French Revolution had done so much before him. But as a matter of fact nobody seemed to learn by what they did; even Moreau and Jourdan did not; but Napoleon did take their isolated inventions, such as giving up tents, feeding on the country instead of by magazines, open order (which they got from our American farmers by the way), close attack, column, and light troops, and out of these isolated things which did not dovetail created a single scheme for all time.

Now that is precisely what Gustavus did. Undoubtedly some tactical, ordnance, logistic, ideas were begun by the Dutchman — and these same Dutchmen were a noble lot. . . . What Gustavus did was to take a warp twisted by one man and a woof assembled by another, and out of the two to weave a pattern of one systematic, far-seeing and successful campaign, which, though short, has never been surpassed in the world, if we weigh the existing conditions and give them their proper value.

About three years before, Colonel Dodge, finding himself in position to gratify his desire to devote his entire time to his historical work, had gone to live in Paris. The zeal which he carried to his work there is well shown in other passages in the same letter, as follows:

I have not read Rhodes, nor anything else, since I started in assimilating the thirty-eight volumes of about eight hundred pages each, small type, of Napoleon's correspondence. . . .

I am sorry that I cannot go to the Military Historical [Society], let alone the Massachusetts Historical [Society], but so long as I am in the throes of giving birth to Frederick and Napoleon, it is no use my living anywhere else except here. I have got Frederick practically written to the opening of the Seven Years War, which is about half, and will cover an entire volume, the Seven Years War covering another. I am just finishing and getting my charts and illustrations stereotyped for two volumes on Napoleon, which will carry him forward to Friedland, 1807, and leave two volumes for the rest of his campaigns. I may commence type-setting this summer, the galleys being sent over here by Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin and Co.

It appears in the preface to his *Napoleon* that soon after the date of this letter he completed the narrative of Frederick's campaigns, but the publication by the Great German General Staff of the early volumes of its treatise on Frederick had disclosed new facts gathered by profound research in archives inaccessible to the student, which, with its new point of view, convinced him that he should await its completion to avail himself of the new facts which it should present, and possibly to recast his work on Frederick, and therefore, departing from the chronological order, he withheld the latter and published his work on Napoleon in four volumes. In this work more space is given to Napoleon's strategy than to his battle tactics, because, although the author terms the latter "wonderful" he rates the former as more wonderful and says that the keynote of Napoleon's success was "that strategy so led up to battle that victory became decisive." The perfection of his strategy is summarized in the sentence "No higher praise can be spoken than to say that everyone of his campaigns was in a military sense properly planned,"—praise which, in passing, it may be said, is not universally accorded to the invasion of Russia, but which few will deny to other campaigns. Military students will otherwise but little qualify the fine generalization of Colonel Dodge's statement that it was Napoleon "who collated all that was done by the other great captains, clothed it in a dress fit for our own days, and taught the modern world how to make war in perfect form."

In comparing Napoleon with Frederick he foreshadows his estimate of the former. He says, "In Frederick we recognize a man of higher standard than Napoleon reached," not merely because Frederick was of all the captains the only one who with vastly smaller forces defeated troops equal in quality to his own, but he was steadfast in victory and defeat alike, because he was so truly a king to his people as well as a soldier, and because he so truly merged his own self in the good of Prussia. "Napoleon flared like a comet, Frederick burned like a planet or a fixed star—less brilliant, less startling, but ever constant. Frederick at the close of his life was the same great man, Napoleon had burned out his lamp. . . . Frederick, like Hannibal, was greater in disaster than in success." In concluding the chapter from which these passages are quoted the author classifies his great captains thus:

Alexander, the First Teacher of Systematic War.

Hannibal, Father of Strategy.

Cæsar, the Organizer.

Gustavus Adolphus, Father of Modern War.

Frederick, the Battle Tactician.

Napoleon, the Perfect Strategist.

Colonel Dodge repeatedly disclaims offering his books as being suitable for technical instruction. His method of discussion, and the absence of citations of authorities by chapter or page indicate that he does not offer his views in adjudication of historical controversies. They have not all been accepted. Nor is it universally agreed that the six captains selected by him are the only ones of the first rank, for it has been questioned whether Turenne and Marlborough were not as great as Gustavus: and again it has been urged that in a comparison of the military deeds of a sovereign ruler like Gustavus or Frederick or Napoleon, whose military plans ruled the state policy, with the efforts of a Turenne thwarted by Mazarin or Louvois, or of a Marlborough restrained by the vetoes of the Dutch Republic, strictly military merit is placed at a disadvantage. But there is no question that, whether with or without compeers, the six great captains belong in the rank in which he places them, and that the history of the art of war during the period covered by his work is found in their deeds.

The eight great volumes which have been published constitute a worthy monument to the learning, industry and analytical ability of the author. Their production was worthy of the ordinary labor of a lifetime. In writing them in so few years the author worked at a white heat. Although he thus unavoidably sacrificed something of the literary finish which appealed to his cultivated taste, he succeeded in giving to the world a history of war and warriors, in unique form, and with a wonderful array of facts, which may fairly be ranked as the most important of the works of American authors in military history.

That the author's project terminated with 1815 was probably due to the opinion that the career of the later military leaders could not yet be viewed in a perspective sufficient for measuring them by those of former generations. The enlargement in the practice of strategy and battle tactics which since 1815 has been made possible by the invention of steamboats,

railways, the telegraph and telephone and signal systems, has resulted in campaigns of extent and rapidity inconceivable to Napoleon or his predecessors, and the advent of rapid firearms and long-range cannon, with the concurrent invention of ranks of open order, skirmishing and field intrenching, and the use of telephone and telegraph, have made battle tactics of a new order.

The use of mounted infantry, and of cavalry dismounted in line of battle and mounted for swift reconnaissance or raid, and rapid strategic movements, impossible with troops on foot, such as the despatch by rail of Longstreet's corps from the Rapidan in Virginia to Bragg's aid at Chickamauga, the movement of the Sixth Corps, by water, in two days from Petersburg to Washington to arrive in front of Early just before his advance on the works in front of the city ; and the transport of Schofield's Corps from Tennessee by river and rail to the Potomac and thence by water to North Carolina, eighteen hundred miles in twenty-six days, to reinforce Sherman, and the mobilization of the German armies in 1870, were features of a change in the art of war as important as any before 1815, which would have been worthy to take place in a continuation of Colonel Dodge's "Great Captains."

The dedication of "Great Captains" is "To the American Soldier who, not bred to arms, but nurtured by independence, has achieved the proudest rank among the veterans of history." This may well have been intended to be more than a tribute of friendship from the author to his old comrades. It suggests the hope that his work may serve to keep alive in his countrymen an interest in military art and familiarize them with its great principles for the time when such knowledge shall be required for the country's defence.

This view is supported by his frequent allusions to the American Civil War as "our war" and the parallels which he draws between the strategy employed by the generals in that war and those of his "Great Captains." In the early passages of this kind his admiration of Lee and Stonewall Jackson is conspicuous, but later it turns to Grant and his lieutenants. To the present writer not long ago he said that he had come to see that injustice had been done in the estimates of Grant's critics in the failure to take into account the fact that in Virginia he had to overcome a great adversary at the head of one of the

hardest fighting armies in history, and again, in 1904, he said that the view expressed in his article on Grant to which I have referred had been modified by later studies and that he should not care to have its comments on the Wilderness taken as a critical discussion of that campaign.

About the year 1900 Colonel Dodge, finding himself in circumstances which permitted him to quit business, established his residence in Paris, as the point most convenient for his visits to the fields on which Frederick and Napoleon manœuvred and fought, and for access to the books and archives to be consulted in the preparation of his narratives of their careers. During the remainder of his life he devoted himself to that work. At his residence in Paris a fine hospitality attracted much and varied company from his large acquaintance, and there, between the pleasures of social intercourse and the work on his books in the congenial company of a talented wife who greatly aided in his work, he found, in the enjoyment of an ideal life, reward for the trials and stress of his long business career. In 1908, seeking relief from an infirmity which had grown upon him, he established his residence in the ancient Château de Rozières, which he had acquired, but his health failed further and recrudescence of his old wounds impaired his vitality so that for months he was unable to resume his narrative of Frederick, a sore trial to him, when the official publications for whose appearance he had suspended the work were at last at hand. To complete this work then became the chief desire of the life that was in him. His hopes all centred upon this object and braced his feeble frame for recovery. After months without ability to take up his pen, he rose from his bed a shadowy embodiment of courage and nerve, and once more resumed his reading, able to pursue it but for a brief hour a day, and, striving to finish his work while yet there was life, he fell, with his harness on, as became the soldier that he was.